

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 00105 01 OF 02 141824Z  
ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10 CIAE-00  
DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01  
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SSM-03 ACDA-07 OMB-01  
ISO-00 TRSE-00 /113 W  
-----141959Z 046033 /65

R 141729Z JAN 77  
FM USMISSION USUN NY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2047  
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM  
USLO PEKING  
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 0105

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, UNGA, UNSC, XF  
SUBJECT: 31ST UNGA: MIDDLE EAST ITEMS

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: THE 31ST UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY (UNGA) ADOPTED 17  
RESOLUTIONS DIRECTLY IDENTIFIED WITH AND CRITICAL OF  
ISRAEL. ALONG WITH AFRICAN ITEMS, THE MIDDLE EAST  
DOMINATED THE 31ST GA, PROMPTING ISRAELI PERM REP TO  
COMPLAIN THAT THE ARABS SHOULD COMPENSATE THE GA FOR CON-  
SUMING 50 PERCENT OF ITS TIME. THE SINGLE MOST NOTE-  
WORTHY MIDDLE EAST DEVELOPMENT WAS THE ADOPTION BY THE  
GA OF AN EGYPTIAN-INSPIRED RESOLUTION CALLING FOR  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 00105 01 OF 02 141824Z

CONVENING OF THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE CONFERENCE BY  
THE END OF MARCH 1977. DURING THIS SAME PERIOD,  
THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL (UNSC) ADOPTED A RESTRAINED  
CONSENSUS STATEMENT ON THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES,  
PARTS OF WHICH WERE LATER HEISTED TO PRODUCE A  
GA RESOLUTION ON ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS WHICH THE US  
VOTED AGAINST. A FURTHER DEVELOPMENT WAS THE GA'S

ENDORSEMENT OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ONE-SIDED PALESTINIAN RIGHTS REPORT WHICH INCLUDED RECOGNITION OF THE PLO AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE IN ALL MIDDLE EAST DELIBERATIONS AND CONFERENCES, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PALESTINIAN STATE. THE OMISSION OF ZIONISM/RACISM FROM THIS YEAR'S ASSEMBLY DEBATE HELPED ALONG WITH OTHER FACTORS, HOWEVER, TO LOWER THE INTENSITY OF VITUPERATION EXCHANGED ON MIDDLE EAST ITEMS.  
END SUMMARY.

2. VOTING PATTERNS: VOTING PATTERNS ON MIDDLE EAST ISSUES AT 31ST UNGA DIFFERED LITTLE FROM THOSE AT THE 30TH UNGA, I.E., THE NONALIGNED/EASTERN EUROPEAN COMBINATION CONTINUED TO CONTRIBUTE GREATLY TO A PRO-ARAB VOTING STRENGTH OF WELL OVER 100 MEMBER STATES ON MIDDLE EAST ISSUES. AS COMMENTED ON BELOW, VOTES FROM MEMBERS OF THE WESTERN EUROPEAN AND OTHERS GROUP (WEOG) SEEMED TO REFLECT INCREASING ACCEPTANCE OF A PALESTINIAN ROLE IN MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS.

3. ZIONISM/RACISM: THE MAJOR EXCEPTION IN THIS YEAR'S LINE-UP OF ANTI-ISRAELI RESOLUTIONS WAS THE OMISSION OF GA RES 3379 (XXX) ON ZIONISM/RACISM, WHICH RECEIVED ONLY INDIRECT REFERENCES IN THE THIRD COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTIONS ON THE PROGRAM FOR THE DECADE AGAINST RACISM. THE STAGE FOR SIDE-STEPPING ZIONISM/RACISM IN THE GA WAS SET TO A CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 00105 01 OF 02 141824Z

LARGE DEGREE BY ECOSOC'S DECISION AT ITS SPRING MEETING TO AVOID DIRECT REFERENCE TO RESOLUTION 3379. THE VOCIFEROUS REACTION TO THIS ITEM LAST YEAR AND EARLY LOBBYING BY GOVERNOR SCRANTON AND OTHERS WERE PROBABLY SIGNIFICANT IN THE SPONSORS' DECISION NOT TO URGE ITS READOPTION THIS YEAR, THUS REMOVING THE MOST CONTENTIOUS ITEM ON THE MIDDLE EAST DIRECTLY ENGAGING US POLICY INTERESTS.

4. LOWER LEVEL OF CONTROVERSY: THE LOWER LEVEL OF CONTROVERSY AND AVOIDANCE OF CRISIS IN THIS ASSEMBLY WAS FURTHER REINFORCED IN THE CASE OF ISRAEL-RELATED ITEMS BY THE LEBANESE CONFLAGRATION, THE RESOLUTANT DISARRAY OF THE PALESTINIANS AND TO A CERTAIN EXTENT THE PLO LEADERSHIP, THE EGYPTIAN-ENDORSED TACTIC OF PROMOTING RESOLUTIONS WITH AN EYE TO GARNERING THE BROADEST POSSIBLE ACCEPTANCE, AND THE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT OF THE WIDELY-PUBLICIZED INITIATIVE TO CONVENE THE MIDDLE EAST

PEACE CONFERENCE. A FURTHER UNDERLYING FACTOR CONTRIBUTING TO A MORE BUSINESSLIKE GA WAS A CERTAIN DEFERENCE TO THE US ELECTIONS AND THE RESULTING TRANSITION PERIOD. "WAIT FOR THE NEW ADMINISTRATION" QUICKLY REPLACED THE EARLIER "WAIT FOR THE US ELECTIONS" AMONG SERIOUS DIPLOMATS.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 00105 02 OF 02 141925Z  
ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00  
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05  
PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SSM-03 ACDA-07 OMB-01  
TRSE-00 /113 W

-----142000Z 046663 /65

R 141729Z JAN 77  
FM USMISSION USUN NY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2048  
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM  
USLO PEKING  
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 0105

5. UNSC ACTIONS: DURING THE GA, UNSC ACTIONS ON THE MIDDLE EAST, PEACEKEEPING-FORCE RENEWALS ALSO TOOK PLACE COMPARATIVELY UNEVENTFULLY. IN BOTH UNEF AND UNDOF RENEWALS, THE EGYPTIANS AND SYRIANS, RESPECTIVELY, MADE EFFORTS TO INTRODUCE POLITICAL ELEMENTS TO THE RENEWAL RESOLUTIONS, WHICH THE ISRAELIS SUCCEEDED IN HAVING ELIMINATED COMPLETELY IN THE CASE OF THE UNDOF AND ALMOST ENTIRELY IN THE CASE OF THE UNEF RESOLUTION BY MEANS OF COMPROMISE FORMULAS. IN THESE UNSC DEBATES ISRAELI FIRMNESS CLEARLY PAID OFF. IN THE

EGYPTIAN-REQUESTED UNSC DEBATES ON THE OCCUPIED  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 00105 02 OF 02 141925Z

TERRITORIES ALSO HELD IN NOVEMBER, EGYPT ADVOCATED  
THE SC'S ADOPTING A CONSENSUS STATEMENT TO WHICH  
THE US COULD AND DID ADHERE.

6. UNGA ACTIONS: ANY ARAB EUPHORIA EMANATING  
FROM OUR GOING ALONG IN THE UNSC ON THE CONSENSUS  
STATEMENT WAS PARTIALLY OFFSET BY US NEGATIVE VOTES  
IN PLENARY ON THE SETTLEMENTS RESOLUTION IN THE  
"ISRAELI PRACTICES IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES"  
DEBATE AND ON THE EGYPTIAN RESOLUTION ON THE GENEVA  
CONFERENCE. EGYPT AND NONALIGNED COUNTRIES PRO-  
FESSED GREAT SURPRISE OVER OUR VOTE SINCE THE  
SETTLEMENTS RESOLUTION WAS STRUCTURED CLOSELY ON  
SEVERAL ELEMENTS TAKEN FROM THE SC CONSENSUS STATE-  
MENT. FURTHERMORE, EGYPTIAN REACTION TO OUR VOTE  
ON THE GENEVA CONFERENCE RESOLUTION WAS TYPIFIED BY  
ONE EGYPTIAN DELEGATE WHO REMARKED THAT EGYPT  
WOULD GLADLY HAVE TRADED 25 "YES" VOTES FOR A US  
ABSTENTION. NONETHELESS, THE US EXPLANATION THAT  
THE NEW US ADMINISTRATION SHOULD  
NOT BE LOCKED INTO  
AN EARLY TIMETABLE WAS WIDELY ACCEPTED IN THE  
VOTING POST-MORTEM. AN INTERESTING FIRST THIS GA  
WAS ISRAEL'S INTRODUCING IN PLENARY FOR THE FIRST  
TIME IN 25 YEARS A DRAFT RESOLUTION CALLING FOR  
THE RECONVENING OF GENEVA WITH THE ORIGINAL  
PARTIES. ISRAEL WITHDREW ITS DRAFT RESOLUTION BECAUSE  
OF ARAB-SPONSORED AMENDMENTS WHICH, IF ADOPTED AS WAS  
PROBABLE, WOULD HAVE MADE IT NO LONGER ACCEPTABLE.

7. THE PLO AND THE GENEVA CONFERENCE: WE HAVE  
PERCEIVED AN INCREASING CONVICTION ON THE PART OF  
WEOG STATES AND OTHERS THAT THE PALESTINIANS MUST  
BE INCLUDED IN SOME WAY IN THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR A  
MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT. THIS WAS REFLECTED IN  
THE VOTING ON SEVERAL RESOLUTIONS INCLUDING THE EGYPTIAN-  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 00105 02 OF 02 141925Z

INSPIRED RESOLUTION ON THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE  
CONFERENCE WHICH LEAVES IT UP TO THE UN SECRETARY  
GENERAL TO RESOLVE PLO PARTICIPATION AS BEST HE  
CAN. THE GA RESOLUTIONS GAVE WALDHEIM FOR THE FIRST  
TIME A CLEAR MANDATE AND TIMETABLE FOR RECONVENING

THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. THIS REFLECTED HEIGHTENED INTEREST AMONG MEMBER STATES IN THE UN'S ROLE IN THIS PROCESS AND THE DESIRE TO SEE FORWARD MOVEMENT IN 1977. ADDITIONALLY, ABSENCE OF CRISIS ON MIDDLE EAST ISSUES DURING THIS UNGA ALLOWED CERTAIN ELEMENTS TO CONVERGE TO SET THE STAGE FOR STEPS PRELIMINARY TO RECONVENING GENEVA.

8. SUMMARY COMMENT: AS IMPLIED ABOVE, THE CRUCIAL ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES ON MIDDLE EAST ISSUES, INCLUDING A SUCCESSFUL LAUNCHING OF A NEW ROUND AT GENEVA, WAS FULLY RECOGNIZED DURING THE UNGA. ADDITIONALLY, REGARDLESS OF THE OUTCOME OF THE APPARENT DRIVE TOWARD RECONVENING GENEVA, MAJORITY SENTIMENT AT THE UNGA, INCLUDING MOST WEO'S, WAS THAT THE PALESTINIANS SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN TALKS AND THAT ISRAEL HAD NOT ACTED CONSISTENTLY IN GOOD FAITH IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. IT MAY ALSO BE COMMENTED THAT THIS UNGA MARKED UP SEVERAL PLUSSES FOR US IN RELATION TO MIDDLE EAST ITEMS -- THE LEVEL OF VITUPERATION WAS LOWER, THERE WERE NO ANTI-ISRAELI SURPRISE ATTACKS, THERE WAS NO SERIOUS MOVEMENT TOWARD ISRAEL'S EXPULSION, AND THE US WAS ABLE THROUGH WELL-TARGETED INTERVENTIONS AND TIMELY LOBBYING TO PLAY AN EFFECTIVE ROLE WHILE AT THE SAME TIME KEEPING BACK SOMEWHAT FROM THE FRONT LINE. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE UNGA'S ADOPTION OF A RESOLUTION CALLING FOR RECONVENING OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE BY THE END OF MARCH 1977 SET AN UNREALISTIC TIME FRAME. IN ADDITION, THE GA'S ENDORSEMENT OF THE ONE-SIDED

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 USUN N 00105 02 OF 02 141925Z

PALESTINIAN RIGHTS REPORT, WHILE EXPECTED, PROVIDED A FURTHER NEGATIVE ELEMENT.

SCRANTON

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** MEETING AGENDA, MEETING REPORTS, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 14-Jan-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977USUNN00105  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D770015-0209  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** USUN NEW YORK  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t19770149/aaaabqsk.tel  
**Line Count:** 264  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 082371d9-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION IO  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 11-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 3589567  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** 31ST UNGA: MIDDLE EAST ITEMS  
**TAGS:** PFOR, XF, IS, UNGA, UNSC  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/082371d9-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009